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SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGULAR MEETING, February 5, 1884.

Major J. W. POWELL, President, in the Chair.

The Council, through its Secretary, reported the election, as active members, of the following gentlemen:

John Jay Knox, Dorman B. Eaton, John M. Gregory, Edward T. Peters, Herbert H. Bates, Anton Carl.

The Curator read the following report of the publications received by the Society since the first meeting of the present session in November :

- From the SOCIETY.—Bull. Buffalo Society Nat. History. Vol. IV. Nos. 1, 2, 3, for 1881, '82.
- Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Publication No. 7. 1883. Memorial. (Isaac Smith Osterhout.)
- Ymer. Bull. issued by the Swedish Anthropological and Geographical Soc'y. Stockholm. 1883. Parts 1—6.
- Bull. Anthropological Society of Paris. 6th vol., 3d Sér. Part 3. May and July, 1883.
- Archivio, etc., from the Italian Society of Anthropology, Ethnology and Comparative Psychology. XIII, 2nd fascicle, 1883.
- Annual Report of the Frankfort (Germany) Society of Geography and Statistics. 1881—1883.
- Bull. of the Library Co., of Philada. Jan., 1884.
- From the PUBLISHERS.—Science and Nature. An International Illustrated Review of the Progress of Science and Industry. Paris. Ballière et Fils. Dec. 29, 1883.
- From the AUTHOR.—No. III. American Aboriginal Literature. Consisting of "The Güegüence; A Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua. Edited by Dr. D. G. Brinton. Philada. 1883. 8vo. Pp. 94.
- Aboriginal American Authors and their productions, especially those in the native languages. By Dr. D. G. Brinton. Philada. 1883. 8vo. Pp. 63. [This memoir is an enlargement of a paper laid before the last International Congress of Americanists, at Copenhagen, Aug., 1883.]
- A Brief Account of the More Important Public Collections of American Archæology in the United States. By Henry Phillips, Jr. Philada. 1883. 8vo. Pp. 9.

- From the AUTHOR.—Micrometry.** By D. S. Kellicott. (Sec. Buff. Acad. Sci.) Chicago. 1883. 8vo. Pp. 23. Reprinted from the Proc. Am. Soc'y of Microscopists.
- Der Bronze-Stier aus der Bijjí Kála-Höhle. By Dr. Heinrich Wankel. Wien. 1877. 8vo. Pp. 32. Map and plates.
 - Ueber einen prähistorischen Schädel mit einer Resection des Hinterhauptes. By Dr. Heinrich Wankel. Wien. 1882. 8vo. Pp. 19. 2 plates.
 - Ueber die angeblich trepanirten Cranien des Beinhauses zu Sedlec in Böhmen. By Dr. Heinrich Wankel. Wien. 1879. 8vo. Pp. 11.
 - Eine Opferstätte bei Raigern in Mähren. By Dr. Heinrich Wankel. Wien. 1873. Pp. 22.
 - Prähistorische Eisenschmelz-und Schmiedestätten in Mähren. By Dr. Heinrich Wankel. Wien. 1879. Pp. 40. 1 pl.
 - Wo bleibt die Analogie? By Dr. Heinrich Wankel. Wien. 14to page. [On rock inscriptions, found in Smolensk, Russia.] By Dr. Heinrich Wankel. Without date.
 - Urgeschichtliche Ansiedelung auf dem Misskögel in Mähren. By Dr. Heinrich Wankel. Wien. W. d.
 - Bilder aus der Mährischen Schweiz, und ihrer Vergangenheit. Wien. 1882. 8vo. Pp. 422. Ill.
- From ERNEST CHANTRE.—Études Paléoethnologiques dans le Bassin du Rhône. Bronze Age.** Paris. 1877. 8vo. Pp. 8. Ill. and chart.
- The Burial Places of the First Age of Iron of the French Alps. Lyon. 1878. 8vo. Pp. 15. 6o fig. 3 pl.
 - Anthropologie. A Lecture. Lyon. 1881. Pp. 29.
 - Paleoethnologic Researches in Southern Russia, especially in the Caucasus and the Crimea. Lyon. 1881. 8vo. Pp. 27. Pl. 12.
 - Geologic Monograph on Ancient Glaciers, etc. MM. Fahan and Chantre. Lyon. 1880. 8vo. Vol. I. Pp. 622. Vol. II. 572. Ill. folio atlas. These volumes are replete with anthropologic material.
 - The Bronze Age. Researches on the Origin of Metallurgy in France. Paris. 1875. 3 vols. Folio. Profusely illustrated.
 - The First Age of Iron. Mounds and Burial Places. Lyon. 1880. Folio. Pp. 60, and 50 lith. plates

From Dr. HEINRICH FISCHER.—A Review of the II and III Parts of Trans. Royal Ethnographical Museum of Dresden; consisting of a work on objects of Jadite and Nephrite from various quarters of the globe. By Dr. A. B. Meyer. 4to. Pp. 9.

On motion of Col. SEELY a vote of thanks was passed to the donors of books and pamphlets mentioned in the Curator's report.

Mr. CYRUS THOMAS then read a paper entitled " CHEROKEES PROBABLY MOUND-BUILDERS." *

ABSTRACT.

The speaker commenced by referring to some discoveries made by Prof. Lucien Carr in 1876 in Lee County, Virginia, which, taken together with the historical data, led him to the conclusion that some, at least, of the mounds of this region were the works of the Cherokees. The evidence in this case consisted of the remains of a building of some kind found in a mound which must have corresponded very closely with the "Council House" observed by Bartram on a mound at the old Cherokee town of Cowe.

He next referred to some mounds recently opened by the assistants of the Bureau of Ethnology in western North Carolina and East Tennessee, the contents of which, together with the history of the Cherokees, induced him to believe they were also built by them.

Prof. THOMAS then entered upon the discussion of the early history of this people, the purport of which was to show that they had occupied this region at least as far back as 1540, the date of De Soto's expedition.

He then referred to the specimens found in the mounds alluded to, which he contended indicated contact with Europeans, exhibiting some of the specimens to the Society as evidence of the correctness of his conclusion, maintaining that if the mounds were built after the appearance of the Europeans they must be the works of the Cherokees, as they were the only people known to have inhabited this particular section from the time of De Soto's expedition until its settlement by the whites.

As further proof of his position he referred to carved stone pipes, engraved shells, and copper ornaments found in these mounds precisely like those described by early writers as made by and in use among the people of this tribe; also to numerous articles of aborigi-

* Published in Magazine of American History. 1884. XI, 396-407.

nal and European manufacture dug up from the site of an old Cherokee town near the Hiawassee river, the former being precisely of the same character as those found in the mounds alluded to.

In order to show that these mounds could not have been built by the Creeks or more southern Indians he presented arguments to prove that the Etowah mounds in Bartow county, Georgia, were on the site of the town named by the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition Guaxule, which evidently from the narrative could not have been in the territory of the "Chelaques" (Cherokees). He then alluded to the construction of the mounds of this group, and to specimens found in one of them, (exhibiting some of the specimens), which showed clearly that they were built by a different people from those who erected the mounds of North Carolina and East Tennessee.

DISCUSSION.

Major POWELL said Prof. Thomas' paper furnished additional evidence that a number of our Indian tribes were primitive mound-builders. In relation to that part of the paper respecting the ancient habitat of the Cherokees, I have some curious evidence to offer. Some years ago I discovered that the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Muskokis, Natchez, Yuchis, and other tribes have among them the tradition of an ancient alliance for offensive and defensive purposes against the Indians to the west of the Mississippi river of the Siouan stock. In the grand council of the tribes mentioned the terms of an alliance were under consideration, and from day to day the subject was considered without arriving at a conclusion. The relation of the tribes to each other could not be adjusted satisfactorily to all, and it seemed likely that the council would break up without effecting an alliance. Now the savage state or body-politic is a kinship body; the ties are of consanguinity and affinity; and this is the only conception of a state possible to people in this grade of culture. So the disagreement arose about the terms of kinship by which the tribes should know one another, as this would establish their rank and authority in the alliance.

After many days had passed in fruitless discussion a Cherokee orator proposed a plan of alliance that has given him renown among all the tribes interested down to the present time. To those who have studied Indian oratory and the reasoning of Indian minds his plan and the reasons therefor are of great interest. He commenced

by describing the geography of the country inhabited by the several tribes in order from east, passing by the south to west, and passing by the north again to east. After describing all of this country—the mountains and valleys and rivers—he called attention to the fact that the rivers now known as the Savannah, the Altamaha, the Appalachicola, the Alabama, the Tombigbee, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland all head near one another in the mountain land occupied by the Cherokees; that the Cherokees, therefore, drank first of the waters of all the rivers, and that the rivers then passed from the land of the Cherokees into the lands of the other tribes to be used by them, and that, therefore, mother earth had signified their precedence to all the other tribes. He therefore proposed that the Cherokees should be the father tribe, and that the various other tribes should take rank as sons in the order in which the sun rose upon their lands—the tribe farthest to the east to be the first son or elder brother, the second tribe the second son, and so on. This geographical argument was at once recognized by all the tribes as being invincible, and the plan was immediately adopted.

Now this tradition serves us a double purpose. First, it exhibits the methods by which one tribe has called another, now here, now there, by terms of kinship, and that these terms of kinship do not signify that the people have traditions of formerly belonging to the same tribe, but that they give evidence of alliances having been formed by such tribes. The second point of interest, and that which bears upon the communication of Prof. Thomas, is this: That the traditions of all of these tribes place the Cherokees in the Southern Appalachian Mountains, about the sources of the rivers from the Savannah around to the Cumberland, this being the very territory which Prof. Thomas claims to have belonged to the Cherokees from historical evidence and evidence obtained from the mounds.

Mr. HOLMES exhibited and commented upon some delineations of the human figure in copper and on shell gorgets found in the mounds of Tennessee, remarking that the designs were not European but resembled the art of Yucatan, and if manufactured in Spain were made from designs furnished by those who had been in Yucatan, and if they were of European manufacture they were of no great value except to prove the intrusion of Europeans.

Col. SEELY remarked that the opinion that was gaining ground among American students, and particularly among the members of

this Society, as to the comparatively recent period in which mound-building was practiced, did not seem to be shared in Europe. He had just received from the Marquis de Nadaillac, one of our honorary members, and perhaps among Europeans the one person who kept himself best informed on all the developments of American archæology, the proof-sheets of an article in the *Revue d'Anthropologie*, in which he presented to European readers a *résumé* of Mr. Carr's recent work. While admitting the force of the facts set forth, the Marquis dissented from the conclusions, his particular reason for dissent being that the reversion to barbarism of tribes advanced in civilization was a thing unknown. He said a tribe or people partially civilized might be conquered by one more barbarous, and might become merged in it ; but it had never been known that such a people, after once having fixed homes, agriculture, and arts of domestic life, had lost all these and fallen back to the barbarous condition of their conquerors. On the contrary, experience shows that the effect of such a mixture of races is to elevate the conquerors by imparting to them the arts and habits of the conquered people.

Col. SEELY read brief extracts from M. de Nadaillac's article, which concluded with very complimentary mention of the work of American explorers and an expression of belief that they would before long lead to a solution of the mystery of the mound-builders.

Major POWELL said : The criticism which Colonel Seely has read for us is interesting in various respects, but it fails to be valid by reason of a curious error. It is a great mistake to suppose that the Indians of North America were nomads. All of our Indian tribes had fixed habitations. It is true they moved their villages from time to time, because of their superstitions and for other reasons, but to all intents and purposes they were sedentary, living in fixed habitations from year to year, though from generation to generation they might change the sites of their towns. But of many of our Indian tribes because partly nomadic shortly after the advent of the white man, from whom they obtained horses and fire-arms. With horses they could easily move from point to point, and with fire-arms they could obtain a larger share of their sustentation by hunting than they had previously done, and many tribes gave up agriculture on this account. Instead of living in houses of wood and stone and earth they came to live more or less in skin tents.

If we attempt to mark off the progress of mankind in culture into stages, that which I shall call *savagery* is, in a general way,

well differentiated from higher stages. In this stage the state is organized by kinship. Tribes are kinship bodies. In the main, descent is in the female line—that is, mother-right prevails. In general, too, these people are in the stone age. They have not yet learned to use bronze ; nor have they developed hieroglyphic writing. People in this stage of culture are called *savages*. When such tribes have changed their social structure so that father-right prevails, then the patriarchy is established. At about the same period of culture animals are domesticated, and doubtless the domestication of animals and the necessity for nomadic life which results therefrom is one of the most important agencies in breaking up mother-right and establishing father-right ; and when father-right is established the patriarchy speedily follows. Such peoples we call *barbaric*, and the stage of culture in which they live *barbarism*. Barbaric people may be nomads ; savage people are never nomadic. Some English anthropologists whose branch of investigation is confined chiefly to institutions, or, as we call it, "sociology," have traced back the history of Aryan civilization until they have discovered the patriarchy, until they find the early peoples from whom the present civilized States have descended in a state of nomadism—patriarchies with their great tribal families about them, together with their flocks and herds, all roaming from one district of country to another in search of pastureage and water. And they are accustomed to assume that this patriarchal condition, this nomadism, is the primitive form of society. Sir Henry Maine is one of the leading men of this school, and we are greatly indebted to his researches for the materials with which to trace the development of patriarchal institutions into national institutions. But there is abundant evidence to show that there are institutions more primitive than those of barbarism. The tribes of Australia and the tribes of North America and of South America are discovered to be in a state of culture lower and more primitive in structure than the peoples of early Aryan history. Herbert Spencer has in the same manner confounded tribal society, or savagery, with barbarism, and has entirely failed to understand the structure of the hundreds of tribal States of North America and of many others elsewhere throughout the world ; and to him may be largely attributed the erroneous habit of calling the tribes of North America nomads. It should be distinctly understood that the North Americans are not nomads, that they have not the patriarchal form

of government, and that they have not domesticated animals. From this statement I must except certain tribes of Mexico and Central America, whose exact state of culture has not yet been clearly discovered. The criticism of the eminent author from whom our Secretary has read therefore falls to the ground.

Mr. WARD said he had looked up the exact meaning of nomadism under the impression that the term implied the state given by Major Powell. He had seen it used in the sense of a headless race, with no form of government, no arts, no domestic animals, therefore representing the lowest form of culture. The term was used in this sense by Mr. Herbert Spencer. There was some justification for the use of the term in this sense by European ethnologists. The meaning of the word does not involve domestic animals ; it simply means to wander.

Prof. MASON said that the Cherokees might have been mound-builders, but the mound-builders were not all Cherokees. We cannot yet affirm that the ancestors of our modern Indians were the mound-builders of the Mississippi valley. He called attention to the fact that Dr. Brinton states that the mound-builders of the Mississippi valley were Choctaws. He also spoke of the delicate and strange forms of objects in stone found in Ohio mounds and in immense stone graves compared with forms of articles made by modern Indians. There are many types of these mound-objects for which we have no names, because modern savages use nothing like them.

Major POWELL said there is no whit of evidence to show that the mounds were built by a pre-Indian people. For a long time it has been assumed that a great race of people inhabited the valley of the Mississippi anterior to its occupation by the tribes of Indians discovered by early European explorers, and it was claimed that these people had erected great earthworks of such magnitude that they could not be attributed to the Indian tribes, but that they must have been the work of people more highly organized. This error arose from the fact that early writers had no adequate conception of the character of tribal organization, and that kinship society is as thoroughly bound together, and perhaps more thoroughly, than that based upon any other plan. They also assumed that the works of art found in these mounds, or associated therewith, gave evidence of superior art. A careful examination of this theory has proved its fallacy. On the other hand, it has been discovered that the

works of art in the mounds are in no whit superior to the arts of the Indians discovered in this country. On the other hand, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Muskokis, Shawnees, Mandans, Wintuns, and Siouans, and probably many other tribes, are known to have built mounds for domiciliary and burial purposes. The earlier explorers found tribes of Indians occupying and using mounds — the Natchez, Cherokees, and others; and the result of the last few years of investigation is this: That there is no sufficient reason, and in fact no whit of evidence, to show that this continent was occupied by a people anterior to its occupation by the Indian tribes, a people of a higher grade of culture. On the other hand, some tribes of Indians are known to have been mound-builders. We have not yet discovered what particular tribes built many of the mounds; nor is it possible to discover when they were built—that is, to fix with accuracy the date of their erection. Some of them have been built within the historic period—doubtless but very few compared with the whole number—and some of them are doubtless of great antiquity. And during all the centuries of history when these mounds were erected some tribes may have been destroyed, and there may be mounds built by tribes whose history is lost. Some of the Indian tribes occupying the continent at the advent of the white man were mound-builders and a few mounds have been built since that time. The great number were erected prior to that time by these tribes, and perhaps by others still existing, but of whose mound-building we have yet no knowledge, and still others may have been built by tribes that are lost.

This seems to be the inevitable conclusion from the researches of the past few years, and the theory that a more highly cultured people inhabited this continent anterior to its occupation by the red Indian falls to the ground.

SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGULAR MEETING, February 19th, 1884.

Major J. W. POWELL, President, in the Chair.

Mr. DORSEY, in behalf of the committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts, then reported that the accounts had been examined and found to be correct. The report was accepted by the Society.